May 30, 2003

Marlene H. Dortch, Secretary Federal Communications Commission Office of the Secretary 445 12th Street, S.W. Washington, DC 20554 RECEIVED

MAY 3 0 2003

Federal Communications Commission Office of the Secretary

Re:

Notice of Ex Parte Presentation

MB Docket No. 02-277; MM Docket Nos. 01-235, 01-317, 00-244

Dear Ms. Dortch:

On April 28, 2003, Commissioner Michael J. Copps attended a forum at the University of Southern California, Center for Communication Law and Policy to discuss FCC media ownership issues. Please submit the attached transcript onto the official records of dockets MB 02-277, MM 01-235, 01-317 and 00-244. Panelists who spoke at the forum included:

Rep. Xavier Becerra, U.S. House of Representatives, California

Christopher Yoo, Associate Professor, Vanderbilt University

William Blinn, Writer/Producer

Darnell Hunt, Professor of Sociology, UCLA

Jerry Isenberg, Professor, USC School of Cinema

David Kissinger, President, Universal Television Productions

Mark Pedowitz, Executive Vice President, ABC Entertainment Television

John Taplin, Chairman and CEO, Intertainer

John Connolly, National President, AFTRA

Jay Harris, Founding Director, The Center for the Study of Journalism and Democracy

Marty Kaplan, Associate Dean, USC Annenberg School for Communication

Jay Levine, President, Share with Other LA

Shaun Sheehan, Vice President, Tribune Co.

Val Zavala, Vice President, News & Public Affairs, KCET

In addition, representatives of citizens were present to ask questions and voice their opinions.

Pursuant to section 1.1206(b)(2) of the Commission's rules, this letter is being filed with your office.

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Jennifer Phurrough

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MS. ORTIZ: And the videotape will be submitted to the FCC as part of its official record in this proceeding. It will also be provided on the web as a delayed webcast.

In choosing the panelists we tried to keep in mind two of the commission's goals: Diversity and localism. Certainly the speakers invited represented those goals. And although a number of the people who were invited could not attend for some very good reasons, a number of people from the entertainment industry are -- are now facing sweeps, which is an important industry objective for them, and also the networks in just a few days will be unveiling their new series and are preparing for that. We were really happy to get the people that have made the time to attend this event.

Everyone here has one goal, which is to discuss these issues in a full and open and honest a manner as possible. And I know that we all share the goal of providing a comfortable and respectful environment for the diversity of perspectives that will be presented here today. You each have received pamphlet as you walked in with the agenda, a description of the six ownership rules that are currently being considered by the Federal Communications Commission, a description of the Center for Communication Law and Policy, and biographical information on each of the panelists and speakers who will be here today.

There is one -- there was also an addendum with two additional panelists who were added as of Friday when

there's -- they were able to free up their schedules to attend this event, and then we had a very welcome surprise announcement this morning that yet another panelist for whom we do not have biographical information to pass out will be joining us via video conferencing. In fact, Marty, are you there? I think Marty may be there already.

MR. KAPLAN: Yes, I am Sandra. Thank you.

MS. ORTIZ: Hi Marty. So, please -- we're going to keep -- we're going to keep introductions to a minimum here because you do have the biographical information before you and we have a lot to cover here today. There -- the agenda -- if you look through the agenda you will notice that there are two breaks. They may need to be shortened from the 15 minutes that we have there since we did have so many panelists who were able to attend. If we have time, we would welcome written questions from all of you. I will have students on -- around in the -- in the room taking those questions on note cards and if we have time at the end of the panels, we'll certainly pose those questions to the panelists.

We also have a public comment period at the end of the event starting at about 12:45. The sign-up list is at the registration desk for those of you who are interested in signing up. We're going to ask you to keep those comments as brief as possible to allow as many people to speak as possible and try to keep them to about three minutes.

There's also MCLE credit available for those of you who are interested in that. And that's available at the sign-up desk as well. Just get those -- those papers there. And there are restrooms -- a number of restrooms throughout the facilities. Women's restroom right outside this room. A men's restroom directly up the elevator and a number of others. So if you have any questions about how to find the restrooms, please just ask.

I'd like now to introduce the commissioners and other speakers that we have for the introduction this morning. First of all I'd like to introduce Commissioner Michael Copps, one of the two democratic appointees to the FCC. Commissioner Copps and Commissioner Adelstein, who is joining us by video conferencing, are the two commissioners who have most diligently traveled across the country attending community-sponsored events like this and calling tirelessly for a more informed public discussion of these issues prior to any rule making.

I thank both commissioners for attending and for their efforts on behalf of the public.

Commissioner Copps, would you like to join me up here?

COMMISSIONER COPPS: Thank you and good morning. I

appreciate your -- your nice words there about my -- my

efforts. You don't always get nice introductions like that. I

was out in the middle west last week giving a talk and I think

the person who introduced me was trying to be nice enough about it, but he said, "Now we're going to hear the real dope from Washington." There might be some folks in the audience who share that evaluation. I don't know.

Thanks for inviting me to participate in this forum. And more importantly thanks to the Annenberg School and Geoff Cowan and everybody who worked so hard to put this together. And particular thanks to you, Sandra Ortiz, for struggling against the absolutely Herculean odds and blizzards on President's Day and everything else you had to contend with to put this together.

I also want to recognize the presence here this morning of my friend and a great public servant, Representative Xavier Becerra, who represents the 31st District of California. He's been a champion on so many issues, including media ownership and media diversity. Thank you, sir, for -- for being with us.

I'm not a person much given to hyperbole, I don't think.

But I believe that apart from matters of war and peace that are front and center in our national attention right now, no meeting taking place anywhere in America today is tackling issues as important to the future of our country as this one right here.

At the FCC we are racing towards a critically important vote on whether to keep or modify or scrap many of our media concentration protections. And these rules, as Sandra said,

are -- are laid out for you in your material so I won't go through them here. They are important. Some will say, what's so earth-shaking about them? What's important about it is that there's a potential here to remake our entire media landscape for better or for worse, for many, many years to come. stakes are enormous. There's no way around it. We're talking about fundamental values and democratic virtues. Things like localism, diversity, competition, maintaining a multiplicity of voices and choices that sustain the marketplace of ideas and undergird our precious system of democracy. And those are not abstractions. They go to what kinds of entertainment and information we and our children will be watching and hearing. This is about everything we see and hear and read through the media because at stake is how TV, radio and newspapers and even the Internet are going to look, the role that they're going to be playing in each and every one of our lives and who's going to be controlling them and for what purposes. That's pretty important stuff.

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And here's my concern. We are on the verge of dramatically altering our nation's media landscape without the kind of national dialogue and debate that these issues so clearly merit. Thirty-five days are all that's left if Chairman Powell continues to insist that the role be called on June 2nd.

So in just over a month, we will have voted on this.

Changed the rules. Reconfigured the media landscape and told the world, "Sorry, there's no opportunity or time for public comment on what we just put into place." Right after that I think you can prepare to see a veritable gold rush of media company buying and selling. That's what the Wall Street Journal referenced just the other day in exactly those terms. And I'm told of one merger and acquisition firm that's going around the cities calling media companies saying, "We would like to be your broker." Well, maybe that's what merger and acquisition firms are supposed to do. I just wonder who's going to be America's broker in all of this. And somehow I had the quaint idea that maybe the FCC was supposed to -- supposed to pay some attention from that perspective.

Three-quarters of the American people, the Pew research people tell us, don't even know this is taking place. They haven't been told by the Commission. They haven't been told like by media. This is like a state secret. And it's amazing. We're going to have a substantially changed system in place before most people even know it's up for grabs. And up for grabs is the right term because I travel around the country holding my own hearings and attending forums like these. I hear about deals in the making. Like newspaper and broadcast cross-ownership agreements where the terms are already decided, the deal is done, the agreement is written, the signature blocks are there. All they're waiting on is the Commission to

vote on June 2nd.

One problem with all this is that just 35 days out, we don't have a draft proposal to look at. We don't know what we'll be voting on yet. At least I, speaking as one commissioner, don't know what we're going to be voting on. We don't have the details. We don't even have the broad configuration of what the new system will be. And when the proposal is finally put on the table, it's going to say, "Eyes only. Don't circulate this outside the Commission." So we're not going to tee it up for public comment or expert analysis before we vote. This is the way the Commission usually does business, we're told. But I submit this is too important to be treated on a business-as-usual basis.

Thirty-five days out we still lack understanding of what the consequences, intended and unintended, of this new regimen will be. So we don't know where we're going, we haven't studied very well where we've been. Put those two things together and you have a sure-fire recipe for disaster. So let me lay out a few principles for this proceeding over the next 35 days.

First, I think we ought to start with the premise that it's not anybody, any company's property we're talking about.

It's the people's property we're dealing with. We're not talking about airwaves that a broadcaster or a company owns.

We're talking about public airwaves and how they should be used

to advance the interest of the American people. No company has a God-given right to use these airwaves for strictly commercial purposes. Yes, they can be run as a business. That's a decision this country took a long, long time ago, but it's a very special business. It was when those rules were first put out. It is today. Because licensees granted the right temporarily to use these airwaves are using public property for primarily public purposes in behalf of the public interest.

The Supreme Court laid out the direction for us long ago when it wrote, "It is the purpose of the First Amendment to preserve an uninhibited marketplace of ideas in which truth will ultimately prevail rather than to countenance monopolization of that market, whether it be by the government itself or a private licensee." If we began each debate in the FCC in that context, we'd do a much better job as a commission.

Second, we need to address all of the broad range of issues that have been raised in this proceeding. Some say this is just an ordinary examination of our rules, finagling with a few numbers. We do this every two years. Don't get excited. Don't worry about it. Let's not kid ourselves. This is the granddaddy of all reviews. It's going to set where the next review's go for several years, and it goes to the heart and soul of how the media is going to look for years to come. We have opened up virtually all of our rules that shape the media landscape.

So when this item does come our way, I hope it will deal with these issues expansively, answer all the questions that we initially raised in the proceeding that we put out last September and respond to the many questions that we didn't raise but public commentors raise, questions deserving of answers.

Certainly we shouldn't narrow -- limit ourselves to the narrow question of whether to scrap or significantly modify limits. Some parties have addressed a need to require more independent programming in our airwaves so that a few conglomerates do not control all of the creative entertainment that we see. I believe that these proposals should receive the serious attention they deserve in our decision.

For years we limited both horizontal or distributional consolidation as well as vertical or production concentration. Then we loosened the vertical. Now we're loosening the horizontal further. Let's look instead for some sort of an arrangement where there's a little sense of balance.

Others have suggested the need for an effective license renewal process, under which the Commission would once again actually consider the matter in which a station has served the public interest when it comes up to renew its license. We used to do that years ago, but the system has evolved, I think unfortunately, into one of basically of postcard license renewal. Unless there is a major complaint against a station,

the license is almost automatically renewed.

A real honest to goodness license renewal process, predicated on advancing the public interest, might do more for broadcasting than all these other rules put together. And if it's properly designed, it could avoid micro management on a day-to-day basis in favor of a comprehensive look at how a station has discharged its public responsibilities over the term of its license.

I hope we will at least talk about this. On a little different level, another issue I hope the item addresses is the so-called UHF discount. In this modern TV world with digital coming our way, is there still good reason count a UFH station as only half a VHF station in terms of audience reach? Any audience reach cap is immediately breached when a station can reach a 100,000 people but only has to count half of them.

My point is that this is the time to look and focus broadly and comprehensively. That's what we were told where we were going. Now I want to see an item proves it, and I will be disappointed if when we see these proposals these kinds of issues are not broached and addressed and this decision becomes an aeroconstruct or a litmus test that reflects only somebody's rush to eliminate the existing constraints on excess media consolidation. If on the other hand we take a balanced measured approach, engage in fact finding and open-minded discussion, I believe the Commission could reach something

resembling a consensus. And how much better it would be to have a 5-0 vote on such a great question rather than another 3-2 vote that encourages litigation and confusion more than it brings clarity and direction. That's a result that would be good for the Commission. More importantly, good for the country. When the issues go to the very heart of our American democracy, the American people deserve no less.

Third, if we change our rules, we should do so in a manner that affords us the opportunity to analyze the impact of increasing consolidation before the genie is let out of the bottle. Radical reform can produce negative consequences that would be difficult to fix. I've already mentioned the feeding frenzy of consolidation that some say will follow relaxation of our rules. Suppose for a moment that we vote on June 2nd to eliminate or significantly loosen these rules. And suppose just for the sake of argument, no matter what side of the issue you're on, suppose that turns out to have been a mistake. How do you put that genie back in the bottle? And the simple answer is you won't, because you can't.

Before we plunge ahead to remake the media landscape, we need to better understand the current media landscape and the implications of eliminating concentration protections. I was going to talk a little bit about radio, but I think other people will do that here. I think many people in this audience are familiar with the consequences, perhaps unintended to some

extent, of consolidation that followed the 1996 act and the relaxation of our FCC rules and now we have one company owning over 1,200 radio stations. We have lots of studies like the Future of Music Coalition study finding an homogenization of entertainment and music that gets airtime. We have a lot of testimony on what this does to local news, public information, community affairs and all of that. We need to learn from that experience. There are so many answers that we just don't have and just as importantly, there are so many questions that we have not teed up.

What are the likely affects of further consolidation going forward? If they're going to come with a new audience cap, 40, 45, 50, 55, I don't know, 75 percent. I have no idea what it's going to be. I think the Court's going to want to know where we got that figure. Why don't we tee some of these figures up and try to build some models and get some perspective on what they're going to -- to mean?

What are the affects on small business? And particularly on advertisers. Small advertisers trying to do business in a consolidated media market. What are the possible affects on our children? Where children doesn't appear one time, I don't believe, in the item that we teed up dealing with this last September, but some have suggested since then that there's a correlation between the rising tide of violent and indecent programming on the airwaves and the rising tide of media

consolidation. I do not know the answer to that question, if there's a relationship, a causal relationship, a correlation.

But I do know this. I think we should at least ask the question before we plunge ahead, and we should at least try to amass some little basket of empirical evidence and information before we vote.

What affects do technological changes have on the ownership debate? We're in the midst of this big transition to digital television a lot of people in this room are instrumental in. Doesn't it change the terms of -- of the media landscape if a station all of a sudden has the ability to multi-cast five or six different channels? What does that do to the competitive landscape in a media market? Shouldn't we factor that in somehow into what we're considering? Why aren't we?

What does further consolidation means -- mean in terms of providing Hispanic Americans, and African Americans, and Asian Pacific Americans, and Native Americans, and other groups the kinds of programs and access and viewpoint diversity and career opportunities and even advertising information that they need? America's strength is after all its diversity. America succeeds in the 21st century not in spite of our diversity but because of our diversity. It's not a challenge to be overcome. It is our greatest strength. And our media need to reflect that diversity and they need to nourish that diversity. And it

doesn't take any rocket science to understand that changing the rules of media consolidation is likely to have some affects, perhaps profound affects, on different groups. We'd better try to understand that before we change the rules instead of creating a huge mess that we might not be able to fix after we change them.

So we need to get this right. If we don't have an adequate record, and we don't, we shouldn't hesitate to get more evidence. Why let some artificial deadline prevent us from obtaining adequate evidence to make an informed decision? For example, if we're going to adopt some complicated new formula for measuring diversity, we should provide the public an opportunity to comment before it is adopted. It seems to me that if we took a couple of months to do that to circulate such ideas and to get comment, they'd have a much better chance of withstanding court scrutiny when -- when you go to -- go to court, because then you'll have a set of numbers that has -- at least has seen the light of day and had some chance to be commented on.

Some accuse me of delay. I reject that charge. I went into this last year believing that the Commission, if the Commission really worked at it, got around the country, looking at the problem, collecting data, really reaching out, that we would have had a shot at building an adequate record for a timely vote this year. And I've tried to do that. And my

friend, Commissioner Adelstein, has tried to do that. And we have been traveling across the country to hold hearings and attend forums such as this one today from Los Angeles and Seattle to Burlington, Vermont. From Chicago to Durham, North Carolina. San Francisco, where Commissioner Adelstein was over the weekend. Everywhere we've been, we've learned new facts. Everywhere we've been, we've gotten new granular information. Everywhere we've been, we've gotten new perspectives. And we've come to understand how important this issue is to the American people. And I have seen a truly sobering outpouring of concern wherever we have gone. People don't have any trouble understanding this issue. It's not that complicated. There are huge questions that people understand that go to their rights as citizens and rights as consumers both. If more people knew, if the Commission did its job of public outreach, and if big media, especially the television networks, which have done such an absolutely dreadful job, atrocious job, in covering this issue, if more people knew what was going on, I think you would see an outpouring and a grassroots issue in this country like we haven't seen in a long, long time.

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I know this forum will add to our knowledge and provide us with additional perspectives. But one final thought for those of you who are interested in this issue. Don't let it end here. You cannot allow that. You have to take what you learn today, share it with others, do your part, and do even more

than your part to encourage the fullest possible national

discussion of these issues in the few weeks that remain.

Thirty-five days and counting down before Chairman Powell

4 closes the discussion and forces the vote.

As an FCC Commissioner, I have a duty to encourage this kind of discussion and to build a record, but I think as American citizens each person in this room does too.

Thank you very much for your attention.

MS. ORTIZ: Thank you, Commissioner Copps. That was really -- makes this whole event worthwhile for us.

I'd like now to introduce Commissioner Jonathan Adelstein, who is joining us from Washington, D.C., having just returned from an event like this in San Francisco as mentioned by Commissioner Copps. Commission Adelstein has been traveling across the country also attending similar events in just the five months since he has been confirmed. He has added his voice to the call for public discussion and media coverage of the issues related to this rule-making process. Commissioner Adelstein.

COMMISSIONER ADELSTEIN: First I'd like to commend my -my colleague, Commissioner Copps, for an incredibly principled
statement today, for an incredibly visionary statement and a
comprehensive one. I'd like to be a little more brief and I
wish I could be with you there today, but urgent business here
in Washington prevented me from doing that. And I want to

thank USC and Sandra Ortiz for your tenacity in getting this rescheduled. It's well worth doing. It's critical that we do this.

As you mentioned, I just came back from San Francisco City
Hall where I attended a similar hearing on Saturday that was
sponsored by USF and Stanford and Berkeley. And I want to
report to Southern California what we heard from your neighbors
to the north.

Hundreds of people took time from a beautiful Saturday to attend that event, and they were lined up outside the hallway for hours to get in. Now not one member of the public said they want to see their media become more concentrated. They said they believe the airwaves belong to the public and demanded the FCC watch out for their interests, ahead of the interests of the media giants in this country. And I replied to them that such a charge, as I understood it, was our duty under the law.

People said they were alarmed that they haven't heard about this. They're mortified by the direction that it's taking and they want to know what they can do about it. Well, I relate to them the sad truth that we're rushing headlong towards June 2nd when Chairman Powell is determined to finalize these new rules. To me it's like going straight to the Super Bowl without even having begun the regular season.

They wondered why the national media haven't covered this

story. I think the Saturday event itself might have been a good case study in why they didn't. Two public radio stations came by to broadcast the entire hearing live, but there was no mention of it on commercial radio. And only one television station showed up to cover it. KRON TV, which happens to be an independent station that's not affiliated with any network. I wonder why that is that none of the networks showed up. This is as important of an issue as any other that this country faces apart from war and peace, but the network media aren't covering it.

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I'm beginning to wonder if the media is incapable of covering itself in this county. There's growing evidence from the coverage of this very issue that ownership clearly affects what gets covered. It's not just what you hear, it's what you don't hear. Now when the history of this is written, and Commissioner Copps and I are historians by training, this may well go down as one of the most disgraceful chapters in the history of American journalism. If the press doesn't own up to what's happening now, they certainly won't in the future when the big companies get even bigger by swallowing up their competitors. Journalists will find themselves even more intimidated in the future as fewer owners gain even more power. Those who risk their careers by reporting the truth, whether or not it's convenient for their owners, will find even fewer competitive options for employment. If the free press doesn't

stand up for the free press, it's already lost its independence and it will only get worse.

Now, if we at the FCC make the tragic mistake of allowing too much further media consolidation, we won't be able to undo it. Once companies merge the FCC never asks them to unmerge. You can't put the toothpaste back in the tube. The FCC can unalterably change the face of the American media for generations to come.

Now, our chairman, Michael Powell, has vowed that nothing will stop the agency from overhauling these rules by June 2nd. He even dismissed a bipartisan request from Congress for more time, including requests from your own senator, Senator Barbara Boxer. He also dismissed a similar request from the Congressional Hispanic Caucus, which is concerned about the impact of increasing media consolidation on the Latino community, as well they should be. And they're well represented today by Congressman Becerra, who will be participating in just a few minutes.

The chairman casts aside these congressional requests, saying he'll go for it full-steam ahead, despite these mounting concerns. So June 2nd will become the defining moment for America's media ownership rules. I think it's critical for us here at the FCC to hear more from Congress and from the public before then, as Commissioner Copps so eloquently stated. But it's tough for them to comment on this with any precision when

they have no specifics about what the FCC's proposing. Now, since the FCC's charged with serving the public interest, it should never be afraid of public comment. It only strengthens the ultimate product and it helps us avoid some of the unintended consequences that my colleague discussed.

On an issue of this magnitude, the FCC has a legal and a moral obligation to provide the public with more specific details before sealing it into federal regulations. That's why, as a backstop, I recently asked the chairman to alert the public to at least the broad outlines of what we're planning to do, to do that in an open forum. I even suggested we could hold such a public briefing very soon to accommodate his June 2nd timeframe despite the fact I think that that timeframe is too truncated and it's a rush to judgment. Even this would go a long way toward helping the public understand what's happening within the confined walls of the FCC. But sadly, he rejected my proposal along with the others.

I've got to ask, what's the rush to make major changes now? I think that we can make changes that are good changes. I think we can work towards a consensus, as Commissioner Copps indicated. We should focus on putting a workable structure in place, one that can survive scrutiny by the courts. And I think that that could be enhanced if we were to have more public comment and that over time we can adjust the levels to allow for greater consolidation after we've proven that the

initial levels didn't hurt the public. The law requires the FCC to review these rules anyway every two years, so why not start with a conservative step and then consider greater loosening in the future as we learn more about the impact of consolidation on the vital public interest principles of localism and diversity.

Now, those of you in L.A. well know about newspaper magnet William Randolph Hearst. He understood the key power of local news outlets. When asked why he preferred concentrating on newspapers with a limited regional appeal rather than spending more energy on motion pictures, which he was also involved with, knowing that they had a worldwide audience, he replied very pithily. He said, "I thought of it, but I decided against it because you can -- [SPEAKER CUT OFF HERE]

MS. ORTIZ: Well, we lost him, but we're going to get him back. In the meantime, I think we will move on in the interest of time to our next speaker and see if Commissioner Adelstein can join us after that once we get a connection reestablished. So now I'd like to introduce Representative Xavier Becerra, who is a ten-year veteran of the House of Representatives.

Representative Becerra, who is Xavier to me since we've been personal friends and law school classmates, is a member of the Congressional Hispanic Caucus and currently serves as the chairman of the Hispanic Caucus's telecommunications and technology taskforce among his other duties in Washington.

Xavier.

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CONGRESSMAN BECERRA: I still want to hear the punch line. He was getting -- he was getting going. Good morning, and let me begin by thanking Sandra Ortiz. It is sort of like a reunion here to see Sandra and very proud to see what she has been able to do here at USC, and I hope that she continues to shed light on some of these important issues and thank you very much for ensuring that Los Angeles did have a -- a hearing here to discuss this very, very important issue of media ownership. To USC, for recognizing the importance of this issue and providing the forum, I want to say thank you as well. And to -- by the way, Robin Kaufman was great and thank you Sandra, for her assistance as well in making this happen. And to Commissioner Copps, who I know has championed these issues far before we had notice that there would be a review of media ownership rules, and to Commissioner Adelstein, who's taken this task on since day one when he first was sworn in. I know it was a task just to get him onto the FCC as he went through the process of getting him Senate confirmation, so I'm pleased that the two of you have participated. I wish we could say that we had all of the members of the Commission here today because it is so very important. In fact, it would've been great just to have them participate in a handful of these as a majority of the Commission. But since we don't have a majority, we're certainly lucky enough to have two of the five